Instructor: J. H. Pammett
Office: D689 Loeb
Office Hours: Tuesday 10-12
Thursday 9:30-11:30 and 2:30-3:30.
Email: Jon_Pammett@carleton.ca

Description: This course examines the evolution of the Canadian party system, as well as the nature of individual political parties. In particular, it looks at the party campaigns in many Canadian federal elections, and the factors connected with electoral success and failure. Additional subjects considered are voting behaviour, participation in parties and elections, and referendums.

Textbooks: (required) – available for purchase at the University Bookstore
Alain Gagnon and Brian Tanguay, *Canadian Parties in Transition, 3rd edition* (GT)
Heather MacIvor, *Election* (E)

Course Arrangements:

Weekly attendance and participation 10%
Presentations: 20%
Term Paper: 30%
Final examination: 40%

Weekly attendance and participation 10%. The course sessions will consist of a lecture, and class presentations leading to a discussion relating to the week’s topic. The presentations may be scheduled at the beginning or later in the class period, depending on the topic.

Presentations: 20% Presentation assignment sheets will be distributed at the first class, and students will be responsible for a 10 minute presentation in the appropriate class. This presentation will be a summary of a 5 page paper on the subject, which will be handed in at the same time. Half of this mark will be given for the presentation (i.e. 10%) and half for the paper (10%). Since each week’s presentations will relate to aspects
of the same subject, those presenting each week are asked to coordinate with others presenting the same week. The paper will normally be handed back the following week with a mark, so students desiring early feedback on marks should choose a presentation date with that in mind.

**Term Paper: 30%** This will be supervised and marked by the Teaching Assistant, under the supervision of the instructor. These 15 page papers will deal with one of the suggested topics to be distributed. Papers are due in class on Monday, April 5. Late papers will be accepted until 4 pm on Friday April 9, with a penalty of one grade point on the paper. Papers will not be accepted after that date.

**Final examination: 40%** This will be held during the scheduled examination period, and marked by the instructor. Material in readings, lectures and discussions will all be tested in the examination.

**CLASS SCHEDULE**

**January 8**

Lecture: Introduction; nature and history of elections; early elections as a Canadian heritage, preConfederation elections
Presentation sign-ups.

**January 15**

Lecture: Macdonald and Laurier dynasties and early elections
Formation of early Canadian political parties

Presentation focus: Elections of 1878, 1891, 1896, 1911, Liberal-Conservative Party, Liberal (Grit') Party

Reading: GT 1, 3
E 1, 2

**Sources on the Macdonald and Laurier dynasties**

Owen D. Carrigan, *Canadian Party Programs, 1867-1968* (Toronto, Clark, 1968)
Donald Creighton, *John A. Macdonald* (2 vols) (Toronto, Macmillan, 1955,
Blair Neatby, *Laurier and a Liberal Quebec, a Study in Political Management* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1973)
Peter B. Waite, *Canada 1874-1896* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1971)

**January 22**

Lecture: King dynasty
Third parties and political movements


Reading: GT 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

**Sources on the King-St. Laurent dynasty**

C.B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta, Social Credit and the Party System* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953)
J.W. Pickersgill, *My Years with Louis St. Laurent, A Political Memoir* (Toronto, University of Toronto press, 1975)

**January 29**
Lecture: Diefenbaker interlude
Pearson/Trudeau dynasty


Reading: GT 3, 4, 6

Sources on the 1957 and 1958 elections

Mallory, J. R. 1957. “Canadian Election in Retrospect.” *Queen’s Quarterly*. Volume LXIV.
Meisel, John. 1957. “Analysing The Vote.” *Queen’s Quarterly*. Volume LXIV.

Sources on the 1962, 1963 and 1965 elections

30: 367-90.

Sources on Trudeau and the 1968 election

Stephen Clarkson and Christina McCall, Trudeau and Our Times (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1990, 1994)
Richard Gwyn, The Northern Magus (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1980)
Donald Peacock, Journey to Power, The Story of a Canadian Election (Toronto, Ryerson, 1968)
George Radwanski, Trudeau (Toronto, Macmillan, 1978)
Martin Sullivan, Mandate ’68, the Year of Pierre Elliott Trudeau (Toronto, Doubleday, 1968)
Geoffrey Stevens, Stanfield (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1973)
Geoffrey Stevens, The Player: The Life and times of Dalton Camp (Toronto, Key Porter, 2003)
Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Approaches to Politics (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1970)
Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Memoirs (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1990)
Anthony Westell, Paradox, Trudeau as Prime Minister (Toronto, Prentice-Hall, 1972)

Sources on the 1972 and 1974 elections

Clarke, Harold D., Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett. 1979 Political Choice in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson)

**Sources on the 1979 and 1980 elections**

Clarke, Harold D., Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett, 1984 *Absent Mandate: The Politics of Discontent in Canada* (Toronto: Gage)
Clarkson, Stephen and Christina McCall, 1990 *Trudeau and Our Times, Volume 1. The Magnificent Obsession* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart)

**February 5**

Lecture: The Mulroney interlude
Splintering of the party system
The Chretien dynasty


Reading: GT 5
Sources on Mulroney and the 1984 election

Patrick Martin, Allan Gregg, and George Perlin, *Contenders: The Tory Quest for Power* (Scarborough, Prentice-Hall, 1983)
Rae Murphy, Robert Chodos and Nick Auf der Maur, *Brian Mulroney, The Boy from Baie Comeau,* (Toronto, Lorimer, 1984)

Sources on the 1988 election, the Free Trade Agreement, and the Meech Lake Accord


Sources on the 1993 election and the 1992 referendum


Sources on the 1997 and 2000 federal elections and the 1995 Quebec referendum


**February 12**

Lecture: The current party and electoral situation


Reading: CFE2006 1
        CFE2008 1

**Sources on the 2004, 2006 and 2008 elections**


Paul Martin. 2008. *Hell or High Water: My Life In and Out of Politics* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart)
February 26

Lecture: The structure of Canadian Elections
Presentation focus: The franchise, electoral systems, regulations, finance

Reading: GT 13
          E 3, 4, 5

SOURCES FOR THE TOPICS FROM FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 26 CAN BE FOUND IN THE LISTS OF REFERENCES IN THE ASSIGNED READINGS.

March 5

Lecture: Election campaigns
Evolution of campaign techniques
Advertising

Presentation focus: Local campaigning; Radio and Television campaigning; Internet campaigning; Negative advertising; Polling;

Reading: CFE2006 3-6, 8, 10
         CFE2008 3-6, 8
         GT 5, 16, 17
         E 6, 8, 9, 10

March 12

Lecture: Nature of Canadian political parties
Frameworks of analysis
Internal life of parties, leadership selection

Presentation focus:

Reading: CFE2006 7
         GT 8. 9, 15, 19, 22
         E 7

March 19

Lecture: Voting Behaviour in Canada
Nature of partisanship
Effects of issues, leaders, parties

Presentation focus: Religion and voting; Social Class and voting; Party identification and voting; Leaders and voting; Local candidates and voting; Issues and voting.

Reading: CFE 2006 11
          CFE 2008 9
          GT 7
          E 11, 13

March 26

Lecture: Electoral Participation
Voter turnout

Presentation focus: electoral reform in BC; electoral reform in Ontario; electoral reform in PEI; lowering the voting age; electronic voting

Reading: CFE 2006 12
          CFE 2008 9
          GT 14, 20, 21
          E 12

April 5 (Monday)

Lecture: Referendums

Reading: Choose one item from this list.

Lawrence LeDuc, Pippa Norris and Richard Niemi, *Comparing Democracies* 2 Chapter 3
Lawrence LeDuc, *The Politics of Direct Democracy*
Ian Budge, *The New Challenge of Direct Democracy*
David Butler and Austin Ranney, eds., *Referendums Around the World: The Growing Use of Direct Democracy*
Shaun Bowler and Todd Donovan, *Demanding Choices: Opinion, Voting and Direct Democracy*
vid Butler and Austin Ranney, eds., *Referendums: a Comparative Study of Practice and Theory*
Austin Ranney, ed., *The Referendum Device*
Michael Gallagher and Pier Uleri, *The Referendum Experience In Europe.*
Mads Qvortrup, *A Comparative Study of Referendums: Government by the People*
*Party Politics:* special issue on direct democracy 12:5 (September, 2006)

Presentation focus: Prohibition referendum; Conscription referendum; Charlottetown referendum; Quebec referendum 1980; Quebec referendum 1995

**Academic Accommodations**

**For students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 16, 2009 for December examinations** and **March 12, 2010 for April examinations**.

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
• handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Course Requirements:** Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

**Carleton Political Science Society:** The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.